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EQUAL SUFFRAGE

BY

JAMES L. HUGHES,

President Toronto Woman's Enfranchisement Association.

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."—*Tennyson.*

"In the progress of civilization, Woman Suffrage is sure to come."
—*Charles Sumner.*

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PREFACE.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE is a fixed element in human development. Women have shown themselves capable of taking an intelligent part in public affairs; they have to submit to laws on the same conditions as men; they pay taxes; they are producers of wealth; they are deeply interested in moral and philanthropic work; they naturally represent the home, and they are responsible human beings. Every male enemy of the home may vote. Mothers see saloon-keepers and profligates, who aim to destroy their sons and daughters, helping to make the laws, while they are unable to do so. Ignorant foreigners, uneducated men of native birth, weak young men without experience or training, are allowed to vote in all elections because they are males; but the most cultured and intelligent women are refused this right because they are women. Sex slavery is more indefensible than race or class slavery, and the complete emancipation of woman will be a grander triumph for justice and truth and liberty than the granting of freedom to any race or class in the history of the world. This little book is offered to aid in securing this triumph.

J. L. H.

"I know, as every man knows, many a woman of the noblest character, of the highest intelligence, of the purest purpose, the owner of property, the mother of children, devoted to her family and to all her duties, and for that reason profoundly interested in public affairs. And when this woman says to me, 'You are one of the governing class. Your Government is founded upon the principle of express consent of all, as the best security of all. I have as much stake in it as you, perhaps more than you, because I am a parent, and wish, more than many of my neighbors, to express my opinion and assert my influence by a ballot. I am a better judge than you or any man can be of my own responsibilities and powers. I am willing to bear my equal share of every burden of the Government in such manner as we shall all equally decide to be best. By what right, then, except that of mere force, do you deny me a voice in the laws which I am forced to obey?' What shall I say? What can I say? Shall I tell her that she is 'owned' by some living man or is some dead man's 'relict,' as the old phrase was? Shall I tell her that she ought to be ashamed of herself for wishing to be unsexed; that God has given her the nursery, the ballroom, the opera; and that, if these fail, He has graciously provided the kitchen, the wash-tub and the needle? Or shall I tell her that she is a lute, a moonbeam, a rosebud, and touch my guitar and weave flowers in her hair and sing,

'Gay without toil and lovely without art,
They spring to cheer the sense and gl^dd the heart;
Nor blush, my fair, to own you copy these;
Your best, your sweetest empire is to please.'

"No, no. At least, I will not insult her. I can say nothing. I hang my head before that woman, as when in foreign lands I was asked, 'You are an American? What is the nation that forever boasts of the equal liberty of all its citizens and is the only great nation in the world that traffics in human flesh?'

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS."

EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

CHAPTER I.

IN TEN YEARS.

"I take it America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause is won."—*Wendell Phillips*.

"Voting would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful stimulus to female education. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social, moral and educational rights. . . . Woman's vote would be to the vices in our great cities what the lightning is to the oak. . . . I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay."—*Joseph Cook*.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, a large body of women went to the door of the House of Commons in London, and presented a petition to the assembled Parliament, in which they dared to say :

"It may be thought strange and unbecoming our sex to show ourselves here, bearing a petition to this honorable Assembly; but Christ purchased us at as dear a rate as He did the men, and therefore requireth the same obedience for the same mercy as of men. We are sharers in the public calamities."

Brave, true women! How logical they were! How clearly they stated fundamental truths! How definitely they conceived the underlying philosophy of human liberty! How absolutely unanswerable were their statements of the two comprehensive arguments which they laid down as the basis of their claim to equal responsibility with man!

Christ recognized our individuality, they say in effect. "He purchased us at as dear a rate as He did the men, and therefore requireth the same obedience for the same mercy." We were equal in Christ's recognition; we shared in His sacrifice; we are individual souls, with power to help in the elevation of

the race, and therefore responsible for the performance of our duty. Why should our brothers assume the right to decide for us what our duties are? Why?

"We are sharers in the public calamities." We bear our full part of the burdens of life, and therefore, in all fairness, we should share with men in making the laws which decide what these burdens shall be. We must obey the laws of our country and receive the punishments they prescribe for disobedience; why should we not justly do our part in making the laws by which we are governed? Why?

The gentlemen of the House of Commons did not answer the questions; they never have been answered; they admit of no logical answer. Enlightened Christian civilization attempts no reply, but recognizes that all injustice should be remedied, not defended.

Mr. Pym, lover of liberty though he undoubtedly was, in addressing the petitioning women, dismissed them with the admonition: "Repair to your houses, and turn your petitions into prayers for the men." His advice was undoubtedly good in one respect, at least, for their petitions were likely to be more successful in heaven than in the House of Commons at that time. Mr. Pym voiced the opinions of most men of his time when he intimated to woman that her highest duties were to suffer and "pray for men." Unfortunately, there are some men of the present day who are not much in advance of the men of two hundred and fifty years ago in their opinions regarding woman's duty. It is cheering, however, that there are so many who are sufficiently liberal to believe that woman should not only pray for men, but that she should pray for herself, and use every power she possesses to secure the results for which she prays.

The advance in Christian liberality may be partially measured by comparing the attitude of the House of Commons in Mr. Pym's time with its recent action in passing a bill giving to all women, married and single, the right to vote in school and municipal elections; and not only to vote, but to hold seats on School Boards and municipal councils on the same conditions as men.

There is still, however, in the structure of the House of Com-

mons itself, a striking evidence of the fact that woman has not yet received equal recognition with man. The few women who are permitted to enter the woman's gallery of the House are compelled to look through a grating of iron bars, while they listen to representative gentlemen making the laws by which women as well as men have to be governed.

When in London recently, the writer said to John Burns, M.P., the most statesmanlike Labor leader in the world, "It is a disgrace to the British Parliament to keep women behind those prison bars, but some day they will come out and take their seats as members of the House, and not as imprisoned visitors."

With philosophic prescience, Mr. Burns replied, with calm assurance in his tone, "That day will come in ten years." England has led the nations in Christian civilization, and she will live up to her glorious record if she is the first great nation to admit women to her Parliament. England has more than once been fortunate in having a woman for her Sovereign, and these women have shown themselves to be wise and able as supreme administrators of law. They will be equally successful as law-makers. When the first woman takes her seat in Parliament, men will wonder that it took so long for progressive civilization to solve so simple a problem, and to put into practical life the foundation-principles of Christ's teaching: "that each individual is responsible for the use of his or her powers for the accomplishment of the highest purposes, and that no individual can decide what is or what is not the duty of another."

Woman does not demand "rights," she simply claims freedom to be and do what enlightened conscience reveals to her as duty. Man has arrogantly claimed the right to fix what he assumes to call her "sphere," but woman has learned that the fact of being a woman does not destroy her individuality, nor relieve her of responsibility for duty, as she conceives it for herself, not as some man nor as all men conceive it for her. "Christ purchased us at as dear a rate as He did the men, and therefore requireth the same obedience for the same mercy as of the men."

The greatest struggle for liberty that has ever been conducted is now going on in favor of the emancipation of more than half the human race. There are many reasons for hoping that victory may come "in ten years."

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGIN OF FALSE IDEALS REGARDING WOMEN.

"In the progress of civilization, woman suffrage is sure to come."—*Charles Sumner.*

"Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same."—*John Stuart Mill.*

THE false ideals of the savage nations and of Eastern countries before the time of Christ have not yet been thoroughly uprooted. In variously modified forms they have become interwoven with the mental and moral natures of men, and women too, by the influence of the customs and habits of succeeding generations through many centuries. The ideals that men should capture their wives by force; that wives are the property of their husbands; that wives should be shut up in harems; that women should work only in the home; that women have to be protected by men, and that women should be subordinate to men, are all degrading to true womanhood and manhood. They had their origin in barbarism or Orientalism. They can be traced to the time when physical force was the supreme test of justice. Man had physical superiority, and in his savage condition brute force was the highest arbiter. Being the stronger physically, man assumed the right to make laws when social or national organizations were formed; and the customs of successive ages have become fixed in the consciousness of both men and women. Man assumed superiority, and woman accepted subordination, as natural and proper conditions.

In pagan lands woman was a mere slave, and the growth towards freedom for woman has, until recently, been remarkably slow. The Brahmins taught that "A girl, a maiden, a wife, shall never do anything in accordance with her own will, not even in her own house." "A woman shall serve her hus-

band all life long, and remain true to him even after death ; even though he should deceive her, love another, and be devoid of good qualities, a good wife should, nevertheless, revere him as a god." This line of teaching was accepted so fully as the Divine will that women walked willingly to be burned on the funeral pyres of their husbands. In Greece woman was not so degraded as in Asiatic countries, but she was held in low esteem as compared with man. Euripides makes Iphigenia say : "One man is worth more than a myriad of women." Woman in the home was a mere accessory to man's happiness. Marriages were arranged for girls when they were little children, and widows were frequently disposed of by the wills of their husbands along with the rest of their property, and married the second time as instructed by the last legal commands of their former lords and masters.

In Rome woman enjoyed more freedom than in Greece. She might go to public theatres and walk alone on the streets without impropriety. Women were even allowed to sit at the meals in their husbands' homes and speak to their husbands' guests. In Greece it was regarded as immodest for a woman to be seen by a man, standing by the window, even in her husband's home. But Rome had not made sufficient advancement to allow a woman to have much to say in choosing her own husband. The teachings of the Fathers in the early part of the Christian era degraded woman to a condition of humiliation unknown in Greece or Rome in earlier times. The very Christianity that should have ennobled her was used to bring her into contempt and disgrace. She was treated contemptuously because "she was the cause of man's fall in Eden, and thus the mother of human ills. She was taught that she should be ashamed at the very thought that she was a woman, and should live in a continual penance on account of the curses she brought upon the world." She was not allowed, in the sixth century, to receive the Eucharist with naked hands, on account of her impurity. In mediæval times women were held in very low esteem in European countries, as may be judged from the following maxims of the Middle Ages :—

"Women and horses must be beaten."

"Women only keep those secrets which they don't know."

"Trust no woman, even were she dead."

"If you are too happy, take a wife."

Even in England, woman's position has until recently been one of degrading inferiority. The sense of proprietorship of the husband in the wife has entered very largely into the Anglo-Saxon ideal of woman's sphere. "My wife is mine" has been the argument of the husband, "and I have a right to do what I choose with my own." His "my own" was spelt with very large letters. "I may beat her if I wish, and sell her when I tire of her," was the husband's recognized right. The London *Times*, only a century ago, gave as evidence to prove that civilization was advancing the fact that wives brought better prices than formerly when sold by public auction. It is not to be understood that the majority of Englishmen beat their wives, when beating was permitted, "so long as the husband did not use a rod thicker than his finger," or that many Englishmen sold their wives; but these facts are stated as extreme results of the almost universal feeling that wives belonged to their husbands. This degrading ideal is now rapidly passing away among educated classes, but there are thousands of English-speaking people who are not yet rid of this low conception in regard to their wives. Some of them live in America. In the matter of education women have passed through centuries of the grossest injustice. They were denied the right of being educated in colleges until the present century, and the first women admitted to universities are still in the prime of life. Women have been kept out of the schools and denied the culture of public life, and the very men who have tried by every means in their power to keep women weak and ignorant have sneered contemptuously at them for being weak and ignorant. There are yet living some masculine boors who, as John Stuart Mill said, "think it a clever thing to insult women for being what they made them." Compayre, in his "History of Pedagogy," states that as late as the seventeenth century "Woman was still regarded as the inferior of man, in the lower classes as a drudge, in the higher as an ornament. In her case intellectual culture was regarded as either useless or dangerous, and the education that

was given her was to fit her for a life of devotion or a life of seclusion from society." Even so liberal an educator as Montaigne, the essence of whose educational system was individual freedom, would keep woman ignorant, "lest instruction should mar her natural charms."

In England, the educational ideal was not much higher. Milton taught his daughters to pronounce Latin to him, but was careful that they should not understand it. Even their love for their blind father must have failed to relieve them of the terrible drudgery of pronouncing words, day after day, whose meaning they could not comprehend. Their father's treatment of them was, however, quite in harmony with the general ideal of that time, that woman's duty was to be nothing for herself or by herself, but that she was exactly in her sphere when she was sacrificing herself for man. Dr. Johnson taught Fanny Burney Latin, but was ashamed to have it known that he did so. He warned her not to say anything about it, as "it was not quite proper for a woman to be considered learned." Dr. Gregory, in his "Legacy to my Daughters," a standard work a hundred years ago, advised all women to hide carefully any good sense and knowledge they might possess, "because men generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding." There are a few eighteenth-century men yet.

Even in America, in the land of the Puritans who braved every peril for the sake of liberty, there are yet thousands of women living whose fathers definitely refused to give them a college education, and the great majority of the American women of to-day were prohibited from receiving a university education in their youth simply because they were women.

The shadows are lifting. "The time is racked with birth-pangs. Every hour brings forth some gasping truth." Education, advancing civilization, a clearer revelation of the true meaning of liberty, the Divine ideal of justice, and, above all, the widening influences of Christianity, are arousing men to a sense of honest fairness and women to a conception of responsibility. Enlightened opinion everywhere is now in favor of allowing woman to do her full duty as she, not man, conceives

it, on exactly equal conditions with man. She is now permitted to work at any occupation for which she deems herself suited; she may receive the most complete education offered by the best universities in English-speaking countries and fill a professor's chair in some university; she has already proved herself the equal of the best men in the highest departments of study and investigation; she may enter the learned professions; she is elected to public offices; she has the right to vote in official meetings in most Protestant Churches; she has, in many countries, freedom to do her duty by voting for the election of members of municipal councils and school boards; and in four states and colonies—Wyoming, Colorado, New Zealand and South Australia--she has attained the fullest rights of citizenship on a perfect equality with man.

CHAPTER III.

THE BIBLE ON EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

"I am in favor of woman suffrage."—*Phillips Brooks*.

"I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women."—*Bishop Simpson*.

"There is also the question of woman suffrage. The experiment will be made, whatever our theories and prejudices may be. Women are the most religious, the most moral and the most sober portion of the American people, and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded."—*Bishop Spalding, Roman Catholic*.

"In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask, Can we maintain universal suffrage? I say No, not without the aid of women."—*Bishop Gilbert Haven*.

"I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote."—*Rev. M. J. Savage*.

"In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion."—*Bishop Bowman*.

"I fully believe that the time has come when the ballot should be given to woman. Both her intelligence and conscience would lead her to vote on the side of justice and pure morals."—*Bishop Hurst*.

"It is a right of woman where she is taxed. It is an affront to intelligent womanhood to refuse to the sex the most powerful agency of a Republic, while giving it to every stupid, ignorant man. It would educate woman herself, and do more than any preachments to put an end to gossip and the idle business of society, by enlisting woman in great affairs."—*Rev. Heber Newton*.

"One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: That in almost every case they have ignored the rights and powers of one-half the human race, viz., woman. I believe that politics will not go right, that nothing human will ever go right, that religion will not go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right, she must be put in her place, and she must have her rights."—*Canon Kingsley.*

"To oppose giving the franchise to women seems to me simply stupid."—*Rev. Joseph Parker.*

THE Bible is commonly used as the basis of arguments by the opponents of woman suffrage. Self-complacent men and too submissive women say: "There is no use in discussing the question. God has settled it. He said (Gen. iii. 16): 'He shall rule over thee,' and there is no use fighting against God." God did say to Eve, "he shall rule over thee," but this subserviency was a part of her curse for her sin. Man and woman were created equal. Dr. Adam Clarke says: "At their creation both were formed with equal rights, and the woman had probably as much right to rule as man." Dominion was not given to him, but to them. (Gen. i. 28.)

A part of woman's punishment for her sin was subordination to man. She lost for a time her equality, but Christ's sacrifice overcame the effects of the fall; woman, as well as man, was redeemed by Christ; therefore, subjection to man is not now an essential condition of womanhood. Woman's continued subordination to man is as sinful, after its degrading effects are made clear to her, as any other failure to free herself from the evils consequent on the fall, since Christ has made it possible for these evils to be removed.

God clearly proclaimed man's rule over woman to be an evil. It never has been anything else but an evil, and in the nature of things it never can be anything but evil. The subordination of one human soul to another, the slave to his master, the devotee to the priest, or woman to man, has always dwarfed the subordinated soul and helped to make the dominant soul selfish, narrow and arrogant. Man's rule, whether intended to be limited or complete, was imposed on woman as a punishment for disobedience to God, but woman was made free from its terrible consequences by Christ.

Christian nations do not surpass pagan nations in any other way so fully as in the respect paid to woman, and the recognition given to her as man's equal. The curse of subserviency to man is felt least where Christianity has most influence, and the time is not far distant when women will be as free as men. Till they have the complete freedom contemplated by the teaching that each individual soul is directly responsible in thought and act, the progress of Christian work will be slower than it should be. The terrible curse of subordination has crippled the highest powers of women too long. Women and men should unite in hearty, earnest effort to overcome the effects of this great evil, and to hasten the time when there shall be no shadow between a single human soul and its highest duty. The fall and the redemption are co-extensive ; men and women caused the fall and brought the curse, men and women must co-operate with God in its removal.

A large number of people satisfy themselves with the idea of woman's subservience to man by quoting Gen. ii. 18, "I will make thee an helpmeet for him." It is somewhat difficult to understand how men should come to think that in making a helpmeet for man God must necessarily make an inferior. Neither the verse itself nor the context justifies such an inference. Dr. Adam Clarke says, in his comments on this verse : "This implies that the woman was to be a perfect resemblance of the man, possessing neither inferiority nor superiority, but being in all things alike and equal to himself," and in explaining Genesis iii. 16, he says, "At their creation both (man and woman) were formed with equal rights." Matthew Henry's commentary on Genesis ii. 18 explains "helpmeet" as "a help like him, one of the same nature and the same rank of beings." A wife can be a true helpmeet only when she is her husband's equal in liberty.

Paul's writings are the only other parts of Scripture quoted to show that woman must remain subservient to man.

Paul's references to women were based on the social customs and conventionalities of a period nearly 2,000 years ago. In Paul's time women had not merely to submit to their husbands,

they had to marry the husbands chosen by their fathers, even though they had never previously seen the men who were to be their lords and masters. Their fathers married them off to advance the social position of their families; it was woman's simple duty to obey meekly. Husbands were men, and it was considered immodest and disgraceful not to yield submissively to their rule. The evil effects of the fall were still in active operation. Would those who quote Paul be willing to have the marriage relations and social customs of Paul's time prevail to-day? Do they imagine that Paul meant to recommend the perpetuation of the customs and marriage relationships of Asia and Western Europe 2,000 years ago? Do they believe that the great Apostle had so little faith in the uplifting power of the Gospel he preached so intelligently as not to know that it would free woman from the subserviency that prevented the development of her true individuality and restrained her from assuming her responsibility in working for humanity and God? Do they think Paul would require the women of America to wear the heavy, thick garments called veils in the East, on the wearing of which he laid so much stress in the 11th chapter of 1 Corinthians? Do they think Paul, if alive to-day, would object to the thousands of women who teach in Sunday Schools and work in the Church, in Mission, Christian Endeavor, Temperance and other societies, and who sing and pray in the churches without having their faces concealed? If he did, he would stop most of the Christian work of the world.

Why, women are actually allowed to vote in church meetings now by nearly all Protestant Churches! Does anyone suppose Paul would object if he could speak to-day? He had more good judgment than his narrow-minded interpreters. With his utterances referring to local conditions we have nothing to do, and his teachings regarding woman in the family, however they may be understood, have no bearing on her right to the suffrage. Freedom is the soul of Christian truth. "God is no respecter of persons," neither is He a respecter of sexes. Individual responsibility is the greatest lesson taught by Christ, and woman is an individual. The "Golden Rule" solves all questions regarding human relationships, and by the "Golden

Rule" it would be as fair for women alone to make laws for men as it is for men alone to make laws for women.

The following letters from Rev. Principal Caven, of Knox College; Rev. Chancellor Burwash, of Victoria University, and Rev. Prof. Jones, of Wycliffe College, will help to remove misconceptions regarding the Bible and woman suffrage.

Dr. Caven writes: "I regret that having several special duties on hand I have not time to furnish any adequate statement of my views as to the teaching of Scripture regarding the position of woman in relation to man. The New Testament teaches that 'the head of the woman is the man' and that the woman was created 'for the man.' Her position is, therefore, in some respects, one of subordination, while in other respects one of equality. The Apostle 'suffers not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man.' She is to 'keep silence in the churches,' and to be under obedience, as also saith the law. These statements are not to be explained away or regarded as obsolete. But I do not find in the words quoted, or in anything else said in the Word of God, authority for holding that woman has no place in the body politic, or no such place as should give her a voice in its affairs. The question of her civil enfranchisement must, in my opinion, be decided on other grounds. I do not find in Scripture anything which can be fairly adduced in opposition to her enfranchisement. In many branches of the Church women vote on all questions equally with men. If this is right—as I have no doubt it is—it would be difficult to show that women should not have permission to vote in the municipal or national sphere."

Chancellor Burwash writes, from Victoria University, under date of January 25th: "In reply to your letter of inquiry of the 23rd inst., permit me to say that, as I read the Scriptures, I find their whole tenor places woman on a perfect equality with man. That lesson is taught at the very outset in the account of the creation in the second chapter of Genesis. In the subsequent history we have in the examples of Deborah,

Miriam, Hulda, etc., proof that the Divine spirit of leadership, government and prophecy was not confined to men.

"The same principle reappears in the New Testament—Anna, Phebe, Dorcas and the Marys are accorded a prominence which extends even into the government of the Church. In the recorded Church elections there is no hint of the exclusion of women, and if a woman could fill the office of the deaconate it is very improbable that she should be excluded from casting her vote for the officer.

"The argument from the Pauline writings proceeds upon his precepts, teaching the Church to avoid a course which would, in matters not supreme in importance, violate the accepted, conventional usages of society. He considered it right, yea, a matter of obligation, in Corinth and Ephesus, where the tendencies to licentiousness were very strong, that women should avoid everything which might give occasion for scandal. But I cannot conceive that, in our age, he would put any obstacle in the way of their most perfect enjoyment of all the common rights of humanity."

Rev. Septimus Jones says: "The right of women, under any system of representative government, to have a voice, if she will, in framing the human laws which men will compel her to obey, is surely self-evident. Woman is man's equal, not his servant or his slave. It lies not upon the woman to prove her right to vote, but upon the man to show why she should be denied it.

"As to the right of single women and of widows to cast their vote, I have not met with any objection worthy of formal refutation, but it has been urged, with some show of reason, that the exercise of the right might cause dissension between man and wife. I reply that, on the same ground, one might, with equal reason, compel every wife to conform to the religion of her husband. These matters adjust themselves.

"The stock Bible argument that the husband is the head of the wife is not to the point. In a family, as in every community, there must be a head, but, according to the New

Testament, the husband is not to be an irresponsible despot, whose will is law, but a constitutional ruler, who is himself subject to the law, and bound to exercise his power and authority in subordination thereto (Ephesians v. 21, etc.). In certain cases the 'consent' of the wife is made a specific condition, where the interests of both are involved (1 Corinthians vii. 3-6; and chapter ii. 11, 12)."

Those who have opposed woman's enfranchisement because they believed it to be out of harmony with the teachings of the Bible should note the following facts :—

1. Many of the best theologians are earnest advocates of woman suffrage.
2. The best authorities in Bible exegesis state that the Bible is not opposed to woman's enfranchisement.
3. The records of both the Old and New Testaments show that women were allowed to fill high positions in the Church and in the State.
4. Most Protestant Churches now give women the same right as men to vote in church meetings.
5. Man's rule was a part of Eve's curse, therefore the subserviency of woman must be an evil.
6. Man and woman were created equal.
7. Woman as well as man was redeemed by Christ.
8. The conditions of woman's redemption are exactly the same as man's—God is no respecter of sexes.
9. Woman is held responsible by God for the performance of individual duty equally with man. Christ taught the responsibility of the human soul, not of the man-soul merely.
10. Paul's statement, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus," has more than a spiritual meaning. All true progress results from making spiritual truth a more dominant power in human affairs.
11. Women have the fullest freedom in the most Christian countries. Christianity is on the side of woman's liberation.
12. The "Golden Rule" is the essence of Christ's teaching

regarding human relationships, and men should read it, "Do unto women as you would that women should do unto you."

13. The social customs and conventionalities of Paul's time, 2,000 years ago, were not meant for Christians to-day.

* 14. Every step in woman's glorious progress towards liberty has been taken past opposing men, who stood trying to block her way with Bibles in their hands misrepresenting God.

15. The Bible was used more freely as a basis for arguments in favor of slavery than it now is against woman suffrage.

CHAPTER IV.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

"I go for all sharing the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

"Suppose, for the sake of argument, we accept the inequality of the sexes as one of Nature's immutable laws; call it a fact that women are inferior to men in mind, morals and physique. Why should this settle or materially affect the subject of so-called Woman's Rights? Would not this very inferiority be a reason why every advantage should be given to the weaker sex, not only for its own good, but for the highest development of the race?"—*Huxley.*

1. "*It is unwomanly to vote.*" Why? By whose standard? By what authority is this statement made? There is no reason, there never has been a reason, there can be no reason for saying so. The prejudices of mankind and the conventionalities of society: these are the foundations on which the statements rest. Woman does a great many things now, with the approval of all right thinking people, that conventionalities once declared to be improper. Nothing is unwomanly that is in harmony with a true woman's conscientious sense of her duty. It cannot be unwomanly to perform the highest functions of Christian citizenship.

2. "*Woman suffrage is a revolutionary measure.*" This is an age of evolution, not of revolution. In the suffrage question, for instance, no one proposes to disfranchise man, and enfranchise woman in his stead. That would be revolutionary.

The proposal of this era is to recognize the duty of voting, and extend the right of voting to interested, intelligent and responsible human beings who are not now enfranchised. This is just and reasonable evolution.

3. "*Women would not vote if they had the opportunity.*" Women do vote when they get the opportunity to do so. They have voted in Wyoming for twenty-five years. They voted in very large numbers in Colorado at the last elections, their first opportunity. Chief Justice Greene, of Washington Territory, says: "I should say that five-sixths of the women qualified voted at our last general election, and I do not believe that there is in our territory to-day a single well-informed and decent woman who would willingly give up her right to vote."

In New Zealand British women voted as earnestly as do their American sisters as soon as they were given permission to do so.

Women do vote in Church matters, in school elections, in municipal elections and in parliamentary elections wherever they have the legal right to do so. There is no use in theorizing about the question. Men proved conclusively that locomotives could not run on smooth rails, but they ran, and that settled the discussion. If women would not vote, no harm could come from making the experiment of granting woman suffrage.

4. "*All women do not wish to vote.*" True. Neither do all men. It would, therefore, be as logical to refuse to let men vote because some men do not care to vote as to refuse to let women vote because some of them do not yet wish to vote. Less than half the men vote at ordinary municipal elections in many places. It would be utterly unjust on this account to disfranchise those who wish to vote. If only one hundred women in Canada believed it to be their right and duty to vote, there is no spirit of justice, human or divine, that would prevent their voting merely because other women do not wish to vote. Not one woman in a hundred wishes to teach school. The same argument would prohibit all women from teaching because all women do not wish to teach. The logical outcome of this argument allows no woman to do anything unless all women desire to do it. Many women do vote in

municipal matters, and desire the right to vote on other questions. The indifference of women not yet aroused cannot affect the rights of those who are awake. The ballot was given to the negroes not because all negroes wanted it, but because it was right that they should have it. Duty is the broad ground on which the question rests. Thousands of true, pure, home-loving women sincerely believe it to be their duty to vote in order to help to decide great social and national questions that affect the well-being of their country and their homes. They surely have as well-defined a right to desire to vote as other women have to oppose woman's enfranchisement. The women who wish to vote do not try to compel those women to vote who oppose woman suffrage. This is an age of individual liberty. Right and duty and conscience should guide us. Each woman must be at liberty to decide for herself.

5. "*The number of women who have spontaneously asked for the change appears to be small.*" Every extension of the franchise from the time of Simon de Montford to the present might at first have been objected to on the same ground. No other unenfranchised body ever awakened to a sense of the injustice of being refused the ballot so rapidly as women have during the past ten years. If this argument had force it might have been used to prevent every progressive movement in the development of civilization. Even Christianity itself must have been condemned if it had been tested by the number who "spontaneously" asked for it.

6. "*Most good women, intelligent, domestic, godly mothers are opposed to the suffrage for women.*" Most of such women opposed allowing girls to go to colleges and universities. The same classes of women at first objected to women as teachers, or doctors, or lawyers, or lecturers, or preachers, or anything else but what very proper conventionalities made them. When Elizabeth Blackwell began the study of medicine the women in the same boarding house would not speak to her, and even on the streets women would turn aside and look scornfully at her to show their condemnation of her unwomanliness.

It would be marvellous if the majority were at once progressively radical.

Good women in India threaten to drown themselves if a Hindu proposes to educate his daughter.

7. "*The basal conviction of our best manhood is against it.*" Not so! The majority of the members of the British House of Commons voted to give all women, married and single, the right to vote and be elected in all school and municipal elections. Bishop Simpson, Bishop Bowman, Bishop Hurst, Bishop Gilbert Haven, Longfellow, Whittier, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, Emerson, Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner labored earnestly for it. The majority of Protestant ministers are in favor of it. The great Prohibition Convention held in Toronto in 1893 passed a strong resolution in favor of it. The National Grange of the United States did the same thing. Patrons of Industry and labor associations are almost universally in favor of it. It is stupendously impudent for an occasional man of ability to assume that because his prejudices will not let him see the light, therefore all good men are blind. One thing is certain, however; all bad men are against it. Lewd men and liquor organizations will oppose it to the last.

8. "*Bad women will vote.*" Do not bad men vote? Is there any greater danger in allowing bad women to vote than in allowing bad men to vote? If a moral standard could be fixed and a moral test practically applied, it would be wise to exclude both bad men and bad women. In any case, they should be treated alike. To allow bad men to vote, and at the same time experience a shock at the thought of allowing bad women to vote, is illogical and ridiculously inconsistent.

9. "*Women cannot claim the suffrage as a class, since they are not a class, but a sex.*" The injustice of refusing the suffrage to a sex is much greater than refusing it to a race or a class. No race or class includes half the people in the world. But women do not claim the suffrage either as a class or a sex. They claim it as individuals, as beings created by God, and held responsible for their acts quite as much as men are. They realize their power to think, and they ask the right to crystallize their thoughts into effective agencies against evil. They deny that the fact of being women destroys their individuality or relieves them of responsibility. Women do not think it

right to give the suffrage to any class, as a class, but to all honest individuals capable of using it intelligently.

10. "*Woman's mental nature is different from man's.*" However it may be expressed, this is precisely the strongest reason why they should vote. God made man and woman different in characteristics, but He made the one the complement of the other. Perfect unity is wrought out of different but harmonious elements. Legislation will be essentially one-sided until man's ideals are balanced by woman's. Woman's individuality does differ from man's, and her individuality is necessary to perfect justice and harmony in the senate as well as in the home.

Woman's different mental altitude makes her vote valuable. She is the complement of man in the divine conception of humanity. Her vote should therefore be the complement of man's vote. The unity of related diversity produces harmony. The male and female elements of intellect and character when balanced produce the grandest unities of human intelligence. The enfranchisement of a sex means more than the liberation of a class chiefly because it brings a distinct and hitherto unrepresented element into the voting power of the world. There would be only a partial hope in securing woman suffrage if it would simply increase the number of voters. It will do much more than this. It will not only enlarge the voting power; it will enrich it.

11. "*Politics will degrade women.*" "*It is because women have kept out of politics and generally out of the contention arena, that they have remained gentle, tender and delicate women.*" Politics should not be degrading. It is discreditable to men that the sacred duty of statecraft should be associated with any processes or experiences of a debasing character. But the presence of woman purifies polities. The women of Wyoming are as womanly and as gentle as those in the neighboring states where women do not vote. The women who lead in municipal reforms in England, or who champion the cause of woman's enfranchisement there, are as true and pure and sweet-voiced as those who are conventional models. Politics should mean high thinking on social and national questions, and the carrying

out of calm decisions by voting for right measures. Thinking about her country's history and present condition and hopes and relationships to other countries, need not destroy a woman's gentleness. Strength of character does not rob woman of her witching charm. The condition of polities, as admitted by this objection, indicates the need of woman's elevating, purifying influence.

Wendell Phillips crystallized the reply to this argument when he said, "Women will make the polling booth as pure as the parlor," and there is every reason to believe with Mr. Phillips that instead of polities degrading women, women would elevate polities. Why should it degrade a woman to do her part in making the laws of her country harmonize with her purest feelings and her highest thought? It is impossible to believe that such a result could follow such action. Character is not ennobled by thinking good thoughts, but by executing them. History proves conclusively that men have always risen to a higher dignity of manhood after being entrusted with the ballot. The result would inevitably be the same in the case of woman. The sense of responsibility would define and strengthen her character. If polities are really degrading in themselves, men should be prohibited from taking part in them as well as women, but they are not necessarily degrading either to men or women. It is not necessary to theorize about this question, however. The test has been made for twenty-five years in Wyoming, and there has been no degradation of the women there, no unsexing, no loss of the sweetness and tenderness of woman's character. Rev. Dr. Crary, presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wyoming, writes: "The women of Wyoming are an honor to their sex, and deserve the respect of all who wish good government." Hon. Senator Carey, of Wyoming, said in 1891: "I know women who have exercised the fullest political rights for more than twenty years. Neither in their homes nor in public places have they lost one womanly quality." He says further: "In over twenty years I have never known a woman insulted or affronted in any way when exercising the privilege of citizenship." The *Daily Sentinel*, Laramie City, says: "We

do not know of a decent man in Wyoming who wishes woman suffrage abolished."

12. "*When party lays its hand on the home, those who care for the home more than for party receive a warning to be on their guard.*" The home should be a vital element in national life. Whoever brings the home element to bear more directly on politics is a benefactor to his race. The larger the voting power of a home, the greater its influence becomes in moulding the laws by which homes are to be governed. Woman directly represents the home, therefore she should vote.

13. "*Hitherto the family has been a unit, represented in the State by its head; a change that throws the family into the political caldron surely calls for special consideration.*" Hitherto the family has not been represented at all as a unity. One unit in the family has represented himself and assumed to represent others. The man who gathers the adult members of his family together to consult them with a view of representing the opinion of the majority of them by his vote, would be a curiosity. No man can, with any sense of fairness, be said to represent his family unless he does this. The family has not always been a unit, because in many cases the father and several adult sons in the same family have votes. This fact has not disrupted the peace of reasonable families.

14. "*Wives might vote against their own husbands, and thus destroy the harmony of the home.*" It is a strange conception of family harmony that husband and wife must think alike in regard to all subjects. This would not be true harmony, it would be mere sameness; and it is only logically conceivable on the surrender of the individuality of one to that of the other. This can never be done without degradation to the one who has to submit. Woman has had too much of such degradation. Why should two reasonable beings cease to recognize each other's right to independent judgment because they are married to each other? Woman suffrage will elevate the condition of both husband and wife. The wife will be emancipated from a subjection pronounced by God to be a curse, and the husband will be saved from the debasing selfishness of believing himself

to be the only member of his household worthy of being entrusted with the dignity of voting.

It would be a great advantage if the drunkard's wife and the moderate drinker's wife could vote in opposition to their husbands. Such opposition would result in ultimate peace and not discord.

15. "*Wives would usually vote as their husbands wished, so the result woul l not be materially changed.*" Wives would not always vote in accord with their husbands, but even if they felt disposed to do so in every case, they would do so only on condition that their husband's parties brought out clean candidates. This would mean a great deal, and would justify the admission of woman to the political arena, if no other argument could be advanced in favor of it.

It should be remembered that there are many unmarried women and widows who will have votes when woman suffrage is granted, so that it will not do to consider wives alone.

The hopeful answer to this objection lies in the fact, that the wives and daughters of good men would be more likely than the wives and daughters of bad men, to vote in harmony with their husbands.

16. "*Women are fairly represented by men. Their fathers and brothers vote.*" They have never been fairly represented. There is no country in the world where the laws are fair to women. Since women began to take an interest in public affairs great changes have been made to improve the laws so as to make them fair to women, but the laws are still unjust to women. This is the natural result of having laws made by men alone. Buckle says: "There is no instance on record in the history of England of any class possessing power without abusing it." From the first establishment of representative government the class that held the franchise has always claimed that it represented all other classes, and that, therefore, the other classes did not need to vote. The same claim is now made on behalf of the men. "Our class represents your class, men represent women, why are you not satisfied?" This is exactly what the hereditary aristocrat once said to all others, and it took centuries to induce the people of England to allow working-

men to vote. There should be no class legislation, but all classes must be allowed the right to vote or there can be no true representation of the people. When did woman surrender to man the right to represent her? No such surrender was ever made. Man arrogantly assumed the function of lawmaker, and now claims it as a right. George William Curtis forcibly said: "There is no audacity so insolent, no tyranny so wanton, no inhumanity so revolting as the spirit which says to any human being, or to a class of human beings, 'you shall be developed just as far as we choose, and as fast as we choose, and your mental and moral life shall be subject to our pleasure,' and this is what men have always said to women." If men are to represent women, women have at least the right to help to choose the men who are to represent them.

17. "*Women as a sex have no wrongs which male legislators cannot be expected to redress.*" The question is not whether male legislatures are qualified to redress wrongs or not. Women do not ask the right to vote merely to redress their wrongs. They ask the franchise because they believe themselves to be important elements in the national life of the country in which they live. They seek to vote and claim the right to be elected to positions on school boards, municipal councils, and even in legislatures, parliaments and congresses, in order that they may elevate the tone of public morals, and aid in securing laws for the protection of their brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. They do not wish to vote only for women, or on questions relating to women. They know that "unconsciousness of sex is essential to the best work of either sex." They wish to stand side by side with men in working out the grandest destiny of the race. It may not be out of place to say, however, that male legislatures never can represent women fully. No legislature composed of one class or sex ever has or ever can represent another class or sex. Again, until women are allowed to vote no legislature of any kind can possibly represent them. Representation necessitates voluntary choice on the part of those represented. Unless a Parliament is elected by women as well as men it cannot claim to represent women in any accurate sense.

18. "*Male legislatures have already gone far in giving women statutory protection.*" Women do not ask protection. They ask justice. They ask recognition of their powers, and of their rights to use them. They ask freedom to perform their duty as they conceive it. True women resent man's ideal that they are weak and delicate beings to be protected. From what are they to be protected? The only protection they need is from man himself in his assumption of their just rights and privileges. Woman claims liberty, not protection. She is not content with barbaric or oriental subordination, nor with the equally degrading ideal of an extravagant chivalry. She asks recognition as a good, sensible, human being, with powers as distinct and as essential as man's, which she purposed to use in co-operation with man in working out human destiny.

19. "*Women should have confidence in men.*" Women have confidence in the justice of enlightened and unprejudiced men, and they are now engaged in enlightening man, and freeing him from his dwarfing prejudices. The fact that the ablest modern theologians and social scientists and many of the greatest statesmen are in favor of woman suffrage, gives woman confidence in man's justice. The recent majority in the British House of Commons naturally strengthens the confidence, but it does more; it increases woman's faith in the justice of her cause. Woman asks man to undo a great wrong, and she believes he will be wise enough to recognize woman's responsible individuality, and just enough to free her from the restrictions of a primitive civilization. The fact that woman appeals to man for justice, does not prove that woman should be satisfied to allow man alone to continue to make laws, but the reverse. She appeals to man because at present he holds the power in his own hands, so that her appeal cannot logically be used as the basis of an argument against woman suffrage.

Men should trust women as much as they expect women to trust them. Women love and respect men quite as much as men love and respect women. Women would be as fair to men as men could be to women, but none of the men who urge women to be satisfied to allow male parliaments, responsible to men alone, to make laws for them, would themselves be willing

to be governed by female parliaments responsible to women only. One case is as reasonable as the other.

20. "*There remain few bars to the competition of women with men in the professions and trades.*" Why should there be any artificial barriers in woman's way to prevent her doing any honest work for which she has a taste, and for which she deems herself fitted? What right has a man to raise any barriers against woman? What right have women, even, to bar any pathway against an individual woman who wishes to walk therein? Liberal men and women are rapidly sweeping away the conventionalities that have crippled the efforts of women and circumscribed their spheres and dwarfed their very souls; but every step towards the light has been taken in opposition to unprogressive men and conventional women who vainly tried to check enlightening truth.

21. "*The transfer of power from the military to the unmilitary sex involves a change in the character of a nation. It involves, in short, national emasculation.*" Again it is assumed that woman suffrage means woman's rule and man's dethronement. Again it must be stated that unity of rule, not woman's rule, is the aim of all reputable advocates of woman's enfranchisement. It is probable this would result in "a change in the character of the nation," but not such a change as that dreaded by its opponents. The "war" argument is a very old one often answered. Women suffer as much as men from war. Their hardships at home are often equal, and their anxieties greater than those of the soldiers on the field or in the camp. Those soldiers are husbands, sons, brothers or lovers of sorrowing women. Many women labor in hospitals and various other ways for the soldiers. Woman's work is not man's work, nor man's work woman's, in war or in peace; but her work is quite as needful to the world's advancement, both in peace and war, as man's is. The time cometh, too, when "war shall be no more," and however man may sneer at woman suffrage, woman's work will aid in the fulfilment of this prophecy.

Then, too, very few men ever really fight for their country. The "war argument" would, therefore, disqualify most of the very men who use it from voting, and, carried to its logical

limit, it would confine suffrage to soldiers alone. If the function of the State be only to raise armies and build court-houses and jails, woman may safely be refused the ballot; but if the State should deal with education, art, science, charity, justice, manufactures and commerce, woman is entitled to her share in guiding the affairs of State.

22. "*Man alone can uphold government and enforce the law. Let the edifice of law be as moral as you will, its foundation is the force of the community, and the force of the community is male. Laws passed by the woman's vote will be felt to have no force behind them. Would the stronger sex obey any laws manifestly carried by the female vote in the interests of woman against man? Man would be tempted to resist woman's government when it galled him.*" Women have made no proposal to establish a government by women. They strongly object to government by one sex, either male or female. It is not possible to have all the men voting on one side, and all the women on the other. All women do not think alike, nor will they ever vote unanimously any more than do the men. It is purely imaginary to speak of woman's government. Government will always be maintained by a majority composed of the united votes of men and women. Moreover votes are now cast in the ballot box, and it will not be possible to find out whether the majority consists chiefly of men or of women. Therefore it is clear that the question of force cannot be brought into the suffrage discussion. The force of a nation must remain on the side of the majority. But modern governments do not rely on force for their existence or for the execution of their laws. The edicts of despots had to be forced on unwilling people. Rebels to-day know that their rebellion is not against kings or governments, but against the will of the people. Men submit to laws because they have shared in making them.

23. "*The elevation of woman is a different thing from assimilation to man.*" Woman does not ask assimilation to man. She could not be assimilated if she wished such a change. God made her woman, and she cannot make herself man. Her mental and moral nature is as distinctive as her physical nature. Just why some people imagine that the

suffrage would assimilate her to man is not clear. Woman has the right to think, and to express her thoughts in books or on the platform. These things do not assimilate her to man; neither would the marking of a ballot paper.

24. "*Woman, if she becomes a man, will be a weaker man.*" This statement rests upon a misconception. Women do not wish to be virified. Women are not virified by public work. Women write learnedly on public questions without loss of womanly tenderness or grace. Surely voting once in four or five years, or even once a year, will not make a woman virile. Lucy Stone could quell riotous mobs at anti-slavery meetings, but she was always a sweet-voiced, modest, little woman, and she loved her husband and babe as well as any wife or mother ever did. Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Livermore have struck strong blows nobly for woman's freedom, and for many other great reforms, but the tongues, whose eloquence raised the people to great deeds, also sang sweet lullabies to happy children in their model homes. They are now silver-haired women more than seventy years old, but they are as distinctly womanly as any Christian women in the world. Women cannot be transformed into men. If they could be, there would be less hope in their enfranchisement. Woman suffrage will not merely increase votes, it will bring a new element into the voting power of the world. Women are essentially different from men, and they cannot become like men. The unity of the woman element with the man element in character is as essential to true harmony and true progress in the State as in the home.

"Everywhere
 Two heads in council, two beside the hearth,
 Two in the tangled business of the world,
 Two in the liberal offices of life,
 Two plummets, dropt for one, to sound the abyss
 Of science, and the secrets of the mind."

—Tennyson.

25. "*If woman becomes a man she must be prepared to resign her privilege as a woman. She cannot expect to have both privilege and equality.*" Thoughtful women demand no

privileges because they are women. They would be satisfied if they could stand beside their brothers on a perfectly equal footing. They reject subordination, and they resent the patronizing gallantry which assumes their inferiority or their vanity. They see that their sex has been weakened both by subjection and by sentimental gallantry. It is not complimentary to men to assume that they are courteous to women because they believe them to be inferior or weaker, or that men would be less polite to women if women had the privilege of living up to their highest ideals of duty by taking part in the development of their country. Neither is it complimentary to womanhood to tell women that they have special privileges because they are effeminate, and that they will lose these privileges unless they respectfully keep their places in the sphere assigned to them by men. Even the most exquisite language fails to give dignity to this old "Then you may stand in the street car" argument.

If women had votes, politicians at any rate would be much more deferential to them. When workingmen got votes, the politicians began to take off their hats to them, never before. Give women more power, and you necessarily increase their dignity, not only in the eyes of others, but in their own estimation. The latter result is of even more importance than the former. The consciousness of added dignity and higher duties is a mighty uplifting force. True gentlemen do not lift their hats to women because women are weak and pretty, but because they are true. Lifting the hat should be an act of reverence, not of mere gallantry. The courage of conviction that leads a woman to do her duty to her country does not make her less truly modest.

26. "*Woman never painted a transfiguration or wrote a great epic.*" If there is any reasonable foundation in such an argument, it may be answered by saying, "Do not allow women to vote in regard to great epics, or great paintings." But the argument is irrelevant. It is not necessary for women to write epics or paint transfigurations in order to be qualified to vote. If this test were applied to men, there would not be an average of one male voter for each great nation in the world.

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27. "*Woman is weaker than man physically.*" Has she strength enough to go to the polls and vote? If she has, the question of strength has nothing more to do with deciding the question of suffrage.

Men are allowed to vote who are carried in bed to the polls, so that by man's own physical standard set for himself, woman is competent to vote. No physical test has been adopted for men; none must be fixed for women. The strength test, and the sex test cannot be the same.

28. "*Woman's brain is not so large as man's, therefore she should not vote.*" Size of brain has never been made a test in deciding man's right to vote, so this objection is irrelevant. No one ever saw an official at a polling booth with a tape-line to measure men's heads to decide whether they should vote or not. It is therefore perfectly illogical to raise the question of the size of woman's head in discussing her right to vote. If a standard could be fixed for the size of a voter's head, and applied in the case of men as well as women, there would be justice in the rule, but little sense. Only small-headed men, with their largest development in the back of their heads near the top, could be illogical enough to propose such a test. Quality of brain is more important than size of brain. Thousands of men vote in every country who are not equal in intelligence to the average woman. The great body of men most uniformly opposed to equal suffrage are not only small-headed, but small-hearted.

29. "*Brain work is more exhaustive to woman than to man.*" What has this statement of an assumed fact to do with suffrage? The only logical relationship it can have in deciding the question, is in deciding whether a woman can vote without becoming a mental wreck. There is no more mental exhaustion in going out to vote than in going out to buy a yard of ribbon. The necessary reading and thought to enable women to vote intelligently will be stimulating, not exhausting. "What! Stimulating to the laboring woman?" Yes; stimulating most of all to her, because it will bring most variety, most new intellectual life to her.

30. "*Women are more nervous than men, and the excitement*

of elections would undermine their constitutions and tend to unbalance them." Thousands of men vote whose nervous systems are in a worse condition than the nervous system of the average woman. Men indulge in smoking, in the drink habit and in other habits more exhaustive to the nervous system more than women do, so men should take care lest, by suggesting a nervous test, they may be establishing a principle that will disfranchise the male sex at no distant date. If humanity demands that woman should be prohibited from voting in order to prevent her physical deterioration in consequence of her present weakness, surely the same principle would prohibit those men from voting who are weaker than women, in order to prevent the further deterioration of their already enfeebled bodies.

It is very satisfactory to note that men as well as women are becoming aroused in regard to the physical deterioration of women under false conditions, and that widespread efforts are being made to improve the conditions of training and living so that woman may have the opportunity to develop vigor and endurance as freely as man.

Woman has been restricted in her physical development by conventionalities and erroneous notions that proscribed outdoor games as improper for her. She has, by custom, been confined to the house. Men have made it popular with women to be somewhat delicate, because they have too often shown a decided tendency to admire the frail, timid, dependent, "clinging little creatures." Robustness was really a disadvantage to a woman, and was likely to gain for her a reputation for masculinity. Dr. Gregory, in his "Legacy to My Daughters," recommended girls who were so unfortunate as to be robust by nature, to constantly simulate a sickly delicacy, so that they might have the necessary feminine charm."

Sensible men and women have ceased to regard weakness as an essential characteristic of true womanhood. Women are freeing themselves from the tyranny of social customs which injure their health, and they are rapidly regaining the individuality which enables them to discard modes of dress that prevent the full and natural growth of their vital organs.

Popular opinion and popular sentiment are removing the ban from girls and young women which made it immodest for them to play at out-door sports, and so the women of the future are likely to get a fair chance to have better bodies. They need boating, the ball games, the running games and all sports that make energetic physical effort an essential to success quite as much as boys do; they need them more, indeed, to help to overcome the false training of centuries.

31. "*There appears to be a tendency among the leaders of the revolt of woman to disparage matrimony as a bondage, and the rearing of children as an aim too low for an intellectual being.*" It is natural to suppose that this general statement is limited to the female leaders of the so-called revolt. No one would charge such men as Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, Phillips Brooks, Joseph Cook, T. W. Higginson, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Bishop Simpson, Charles Sumner, Chief Justice Chase, Charles Kingsley, Professor Huxley, or more than half the members of the British Parliament with such a tendency. The statement is equally foundationless in regard to the women among the leaders. The Countess of Aberdeen is president of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association in England. Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, and Julia Ward Howe led the woman suffrage movement in America. The leadership of these noble women did not interfere with their wifehood or motherhood. All distinguished women do not marry. Neither do all distinguished men.

32. "*Women must bear and nurse children, and if they do this, it is impossible that they should compete with men in occupations which demand complete devotion as well as superior strength of muscle or brain.*" This argument might fairly be ruled out of a discussion on woman suffrage, but it may be answered in several ways. Women do not wish to compete with men in all occupations. They are the best judges of what they should or should not do, and every rule of fair play demands that they be allowed to decide for themselves. All women do not get the opportunity of marrying. Voting is not a laborious occupation "requiring complete devotion as well as superior strength." It means but a pleasant walk and a few

minutes time. Canvassing will not always be an important factor in elections, and so long as it has to be done, married women with young families can be spared from taking part in it. There are plenty of men, and unmarried women, and widows, and married women with grown-up children, to do all the essential work of electioneering. Voting would waste none of woman's strength, and not so much of her time as is needed to make a fashionable call. But many married women have to bear and raise their children, and earn most of the money for their support, too. There are too many cases in cities where women support drunken husbands in addition to their children, yet on election day the husband may vote for the politicians who license the drink traffic, while the suffering wife has no right to vote for the protection of herself and her children.

33. "*The strain of political life would disqualify women for motherhood.*" This would be a fatal objection if it had either a sound, practical or physiological basis. It has neither. The argument is foundationless, practically, because there are plenty of widows, of mothers, whose families are grown up, and of elderly unmarried women to do all the necessary active political work of organization and canvassing that should properly be done by women. The great mass of women would simply have to decide how to vote, and then vote. The intellectual effort of decision in regard to public questions would be no more exhaustive than the intellectual effort to decide many other questions that women have to decide at present. The vast majority of women do all the thinking and feeling now that is necessary to enable them to vote intelligently. They hear public questions discussed in their own homes, at social gatherings, at Christian Endeavor meetings, at Epworth League meetings, at temperance meetings, at lectures and even at political meetings. Women generally have already arrived at clear decisions in regard to many social reforms, and are quite ready to vote now without any mental exhaustion whatever.

This argument is equally foundationless from the physiological standpoint. Of course, Herbert Spencer is quoted as saying that "a deficiency of reproductive power in women results from

overtaxing their brains." But no one can truthfully assert that to allow women to vote will "overtax their brains." Neither can anyone reasonably claim that woman has not as much right to think and as much need to think as man has. Even if it be granted that Mr. Spencer's statement be quite correct, it does not prove that energetic and sustained mental effort by women is essentially an evil, but it does prove that to direct the whole of the forces of our being to one department of our power to the neglect of the other departments, is necessarily evil. Mr. Spencer himself evidently holds this view, because he asserts that "physical labor makes woman less fertile," although he thinks more evidence is needed to prove this fully. Clearly his opinion is, that the intensification of intellectual effort to the neglect of physical training, must lead to the deterioration of physical energy, the weakening of the vital organism, and therefore, to a "deficiency of reproductive power." This statement is also true if the physical powers be overstrained and the intellectual powers neglected. The destruction of the natural and essential harmony between the physical, intellectual and spiritual powers by overtraining, or overexerting any department of human power at the expense of the others, is inevitably evil in its effects. Mr. Spencer was narrow in looking among women only for loss of reproductive power, as a result of overtaxing the brain. Mr. Galton found a similar result among men under similar conditions. There is no question of sex involved in the facts. It is as true of man as of woman, that overtaxing one department of power inevitably entails loss of power in others; and the danger of loss increases as the overtaxing is prolonged. No sane person will claim, however, that because this is true, therefore men or women should stop either intellectual or physical effort.

Even if the loss of power described was confined to women, there is no reasonable man, however prejudiced he may be against woman suffrage, who will claim that the Creator intended women to do no thinking. It would be equally unreasonable to allow women to think without giving them perfect freedom in applying their thought. Freedom of thought is a myth, unless the right to think is accompanied by the right to execute

thought within the recognized limits fixed by the rights of others. Over-exertion of the brain is an evil for either man or woman; but a proper amount of intellectual effort is essential to the best development of both sexes. The intellectual effort that is most productive of good to both men and women, is that which does not die as mere thought, but which lives in executed purpose for the good of humanity. To think is good, but it is still better for the thinker as well as the world to crystallize the thought into a vote. Nothing stimulates new thought so much as executing the thought we already have. Nothing has a more paralyzing effect on the moral force of the race, than to train it to think without performing the results of its thinking. Voting will ennoble womanhood, and qualify woman for truer motherhood. Henry Ward Beecher truly said: "In the augmentation of her liberty and the enlargement of her sphere, she has forsaken no duty of home, and lost no grace of tenderness and love. She has become a better mother, a better wife, daughter, sister, friend, by just that enlargement which it was predicted would unsex her. A woman is better fitted for home, who is also fit for something else."

34. "*If women were allowed to vote there would be too many voters.*" This is a last refuge for men without argument. It has always been the cry of the voting class when an extension of the franchise was proposed. It is now the cry of the voting sex.

Even if the statement were reasonable, sex is neither a logical nor a practical basis for the suffrage. If it was suggested that a certain amount of intelligence and experience should be the basis for the right to vote, there would be some force in the argument of the restrictionists. It cannot be denied that thousands of women have intelligence enough to vote and wish to vote, that thousands of women pay taxes, and that all women have to submit to the laws. Sex is an absurd basis for suffrage. All just men would see that it is so, if some of them were not still blinded by prejudice.

35. "*Women would quarrel with each other if they had to conduct public business.*" Women even with a very limited

experience now conduct large meetings, conventions, congresses, etc., as quietly and in as business-like a manner as men.

It must be remembered, too, that no one proposes to have women alone in Parliament.

It is possible that women might sometimes get angry, but so do men. Unfortunately, there have been disgraceful scenes in the highest representative bodies of men in the parliaments of such Christian nations as Canada, United States, France, Germany and England, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is a recognized fact that when the two sexes are present each one acts as a restraining and an elevating power on the other. God made the one sex the helpful complement of the other. Political meetings have lost their bitterness and rowdyism since women began to attend them. Parliamentary procedure will be more dignified and polished as soon as women sit in Parliament.

36. "*To withhold a vote is not essentially an interference with liberty. A man may have liberty without a vote, and a vote without liberty.*" This statement is more epigrammatic than accurate. No man is free, in the true sense of the word, unless he has the fullest rights of citizenship, independent of all limitations. The right to vote is the highest test of liberty.

37. "*For an abstract claim of right there appears to be no foundation. Power which is natural carries with it right, though it is subject to the restraint of conscience.*" This is simply a beautifully masked assertion of the horrible doctrine that "might is right." It ignores the fact, too, that intellectual and spiritual powers are the highest powers, and that they are "natural powers" quite as much as physical force is. Nothing but the inherited tendency to assume superiority for the male sex could lead any liberal or cultured man to state that man has any abstract right to vote that does not equally belong to woman. Woman is governed by law as man is; woman may own property and pay taxes as man does; woman is interested in the home and in the State as fully as man is; woman is as much interested in her children as man is; woman is a responsible individual quite as much as man is. It is utterly unjust to say that every abstract claim of right that

can be established in favor of man's voting does not belong equally to woman.

38. "*What leaders of the women's rights movement practically seek is for the woman power without responsibility, for the man responsibility without power.*" Both these statements misrepresent the men and women who advocate woman suffrage. Women recognize their responsibility; at least, those who ask enfranchisement do so. Experience would deepen this sense of responsibility. Some women do not ask the right to vote simply because they do not recognize their responsibility. Those who clearly see their responsibility merely ask the right to do their duty. Women do not seek to take the power out of men's hands. They wish to share power as well as responsibility with them.

39. "*Man's life is more or less public, while that of woman is in the home.*" Granting the correctness of this statement, does it not prove the need of woman suffrage in order that the home may be represented in the body politic? Is the home of so little consequence to the State that it needs no direct representation? The home element is the most important in the State, and the fact that "the life of the woman is in the home," proves beyond a doubt that woman is naturally intended to speak and vote for the home.

40. "*Men feel, as a sex, the full measure of responsibility in public action. This is not felt as strongly by their partners.*" It would be a great blessing if by a stroke of his magic wand some magician could make men live up to the first of these statements. Comparatively few men realize the sacred responsibility of public action, even in voting. It may be true that men feel public responsibility more than women. There is only one way in which responsibility can become clear to the minds either of men or women, and that is by doing duty. Self-activity is an absolute essential in revealing thought, feeling or responsibility. Woman will feel the responsibilities of public duties when she is allowed to perform them.

41. "*The woman of the political platform does not limit her ambition to a vote. She wants to sit in Parliament or in Congress.*" Why not? Many of the men in any Parliament or in

Congress could easily be replaced by women of larger intelligence, greater breadth of view and better education. There are plenty of women of leisure whose duties would permit them to assume the responsibilities of representing their fellow-citizens in Parliament. There is no new principle in this idea. Women have long been elected to positions on school boards and municipal councils. It might shock the prejudices of some conventional people at first to see women in Parliament, but prejudices have a habit of being shocked by the practical developments of our progressive age. The best thing to do with prejudices is to shock them. Prejudices must always yield to common-sense and justice, and each successive generation becomes freer from the bondage of prejudices. It will be a great event in the world's history when the first woman takes her seat in Congress or Parliament. When the happy time comes the world will marvel that it took so many centuries to accomplish such manifest justice. There is no danger that women will turn all the men out of Parliament. It would be as unjust and as unwise to have the men ruled by women alone as it now is to have women ruled by men alone.

What right has man to draw lines to debar women from the fullest growth possible? Gibbon properly named man "The usurping sex." He has usurped the right to circumscribe woman in regard to her education, her sphere, her privileges and her duties for centuries; but women, conscious of their own individuality and their own responsibilities, have gone bravely on, and, ignoring the lines so arrogantly drawn by man, have assumed many duties formerly reserved for men, and have forced the world to acknowledge their fitness for any sphere of honorable labor to which they have aspired. Men may as well learn once for all that man has no divine commission to "draw lines" for women. The genius of the age is in favor of removing the barriers from the paths of both men and women, instead of placing restrictions in their way. Why should not women be elected to any positions if the people deem them qualified to fill them? All women are not qualified to be members of Parliament. All men are not so qualified. It is a difficult matter to get one well-qualified man in each municipality to represent

it in Parliament. When women are permitted to sit in Parliament there will be more good candidates to choose from. It is not a very rash statement to assert that ninety women could be found in Ontario who would be able to take the places of the members of the Ontario Legislature after they had received a training in conducting public affairs. But ninety women would never be needed. Unless men deteriorate, the sexes in the ideal condition should be represented equally, or nearly so. At first only a very small proportion of women would be elected, because women, so far, have not been allowed to receive the necessary training to qualify them for parliamentary duties. Twenty-five years will make a great change in this respect, however.

42. *"If the Creator had intended woman to be man's equal in every respect He would have made her man instead of woman."* Women do not claim to be equal to man in every respect. Man is not equal to woman in every respect. The question of equality of the sexes does not logically enter into the discussion of the right and duty of woman suffrage. Henry Ward Beecher's answer to this objection is probably the best ever written. He says: "It will scarcely be denied that men are superior to woman—as men; and that women are immeasurably superior to men—as women; while both of them together are more than a match for either of them separately."

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY OF REASONS IN FAVOR OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

"Justice is on the side of woman suffrage."—*William H. Seward.*

"Woman's suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and I for one expect a great deal of good to result from it."—*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.*

1. Men and women were created equal in rights and responsibility. The more unequal they are in powers and qualities, the greater the need for women to vote.

2. Subordination to man was pronounced by God as a curse, a part of Eve's curse for her sin. Christ made it possible to overcome all the effects of this curse. Failure to overcome is sinful.
3. Women were chosen by God for the highest official positions in the State during the theocracy, when He directed the appointment of the rulers of His people.
4. Women were distinctly recognized by Christ as important workers in His cause.
5. Women held official positions in the early Christian Church.
6. Woman's freedom marks the distinction between Christian and pagan nations more definitely than anything else.
7. Individual liberty and individual responsibility were the greatest lessons taught by Christ.
8. Woman is a responsible individual; and the fact of being a woman does not destroy her individuality or lessen her responsibility.
9. Women vote in church meetings by consent of the most advanced Christian opinion. This being granted there is no logical ground for denying their right to vote in the State. Christians at any rate cannot claim that the work of the State is more important than the work of the Church.
10. Woman's vote would speedily settle the saloon question, and many other moral and social questions.
11. Even if all married women remained faithful to their husband's political opinions, parties would be compelled to choose pure, honest men with clean records as candidates.
12. Women have as much right as men to have their opinion crystallized into law.
13. Woman represents the home, and the home should be represented in the State. The fiends who ruin the sons and daughters of the home may vote. The mothers of those sons and daughters should make laws to protect the home.
14. Woman represents an idea of God, evidenced by her being created with feelings and powers different from man's. The development and influence of the woman ideal is essential to the true progress of humanity.

15. The unity of manhood and womanhood in the State is as important as their unity in the home. God made each the necessary complement of the other.

16. Woman represents the moral force of the community more fully than man. There are ten times as many men as women in the penitentiaries of the world.

17. Woman, like man, is a creature in whom progressive civilization develops higher capacities and new aptitudes. Man has no right to limit growth that God meant to be infinite.

18. Women love their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons quite as much as men love their wives, mothers, sisters and daughters; therefore, no class is in danger from woman suffrage.

19. From the home with seven sons, eight votes go out on election day, however ignorant or wicked father and sons may be. From the neighboring home, in which the family consists of seven daughters, only one vote may be cast, however cultured and pure the daughters of the second home may be.

20. Women may hold property and pay taxes; therefore, so long as property-holding and tax-paying are elements in qualifying for the suffrage, women should be entitled to vote.

21. If the standard for voting be intelligence and education, women who pass the required tests should have votes. Imbecile males and all females are now prohibited from voting.

22. If morality and conformity to law be the basis of voting rights, then women who are moral and law-abiding should have the right to vote. Criminal men and all women are now prohibited from voting.

23. Women who violate the law of their country, must submit to its penalties. It is cowardly and unjust to refuse women the right to assist in making the laws by which they have to be governed.

24. Woman's voting would purify elections, and make the polling booths as refining as the parlor.

25. Woman's voting would do away with the double standard of morality for men and women.

26. Equal suffrage would be a stimulus to woman's culture, an agency in her development, and the most direct and effective

process by which she could perform her duty, as she conceives it, towards God and humanity.

27. Woman's voting in England and America in school and municipal elections, and in Wyoming, Colorado and New Zealand in State and parliamentary elections, has proved a perfect success, and shown the fallacy of all theoretical objections to it.

CHAPTER VI.

SKETCHES WITH MORALS.

"I think there will be no end to the good that will come by woman's suffrage, on the elected, on elections, on government, and on woman herself."
—*Chief Justice Chase.*

"For over forty years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government, demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women."—*J. G. Whittier.*

Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith are neighbors. Mr. Jones is an educated gentleman, and his wife is a woman of broad culture. Both have generous, altruistic purposes, and high national and social ideals. They have seven daughters, who have all grown to maturity. None of them are married. They have all received a liberal education. They have read widely in regard to social questions and political economy. They are exemplary women, who are active in devotion to religious and philanthropic duties. They have clear and definite views on public questions.

Mr. Smith is an ignorant, dissipated man, and his wife is an ignorant, dispirited woman. They have seven sons, whose education is of the most meagre character. Their moral training has been very defective. They have been allowed to grow up in idleness, without learning any trade or following any regular means of earning a living. Three of them have been fined for breaches of the peace while under the influence of

liquor, and two of them served short terms in prison for stealing.

On election day the Jones family counts one, and the Smith family counts eight. The family that is a burden to the State and a menace to civilization has eight times as much influence as the family that is self-respecting, self-supporting and co-operative in all that tends to uplift society. The family that respects and obeys law counts one; the family that despises and defies law counts eight. The family whose votes may be bought by any evil system or immoral institution or corrupt party, votes eight times; the family that is incorruptible votes but once, and even its poor solitary vote is dependent on the short life of a delicate old man. A March wind, a November rain, or any accident may rob the entire Jones family of its franchise. Seven males in the Smith family may be carried to the grave, and still the Smith family will have as much ballot power as the Jones family.

Clearly sex is not a true basis for suffrage either logically or practically.

Mr. and Mrs. Thompson live on a poor street in a large city. They have five children, all boys. They were born in a rural district, but came to live in the city eight years after they were married. Mr. Thompson is a plasterer, and for about two years after they came to live in the city he worked regularly at his trade. During the winter season, while out of work, he fell in with bad company, and learned to drink. He is now a confirmed drunkard. He rarely does a day's work. His wife supports the family by washing, and is assisted by kind friends connected with the church which she attends with her children. She pays the rent of the home. She provides the food for her children and her husband. She works at night making over gifts of old clothing so that her family may be kept respectable. She gives every power of her life willingly to the man who once loved her, and to her boys. Her greatest hope is that her boys may become honest, sober, Christian men and good citizens. She looks with a heavy heart at her youngest, bright little Sam, with the fearful consciousness that he will probably have an inherited taste for liquor, a will-power

weakened by the dissipation of his father, and a nervous system enfeebled by the anxiety, the hopeless waiting, and the overwork of his mother before he was born. She knows that the saloon wrecked her happy home, and she fears that it may destroy her hopes of brighter days in future when her sons grow up. She longs for the time, when her country shall stop licensing men to rob women and children. She has been told that the laws of a nation are made by the votes of the people in it. She reasons that as she is one of the people she is entitled to help to make the laws by which she has to be governed, and that it is her duty to do so. She resolves to vote on election day for the man who promises to work for closing the saloons. She goes to the polling booth and asks for her ballot paper. She is told she has no vote. Coarse men jeer at her, and despairingly she turns to go home. As she turns she sees her husband in a state of intoxicated stupor, led in to vote by a ruffian hired by the saloon party. The representative of the State gives him a ballot, which he proceeds to mark as he has been instructed by the enemies of home and womanhood and childhood.

The man was allowed by the laws of a Christian nation to vote for the perpetuation of a traffic that is the greatest enemy to Christian civilization ; the woman who supports him and his family, and pays taxes in the same Christian nation was not permitted to vote against a system that has blighted her life and threatens to curse the five boys who are now the sources of her only earthly hope. The man's motive in voting was solely to pay for the free whiskey given him that morning : the woman's motive was to save her husband and her sons, and to aid in the propagation of truth and justice.

Sex is clearly not a true basis for suffrage, either logically or practically.

Yonder is an immense host of negroes, a great army of men marching to the ballot-box to help to make their country's laws. Through no fault of theirs, they are nearly all ignorant, uncultured men. They have had no training in political economy. They know nothing of the historical development of nations. They are allowed to vote, however, because they

were born males. Here is a larger army who are educated in the fundamental laws of human progress and the development of civil institutions. Their whole experience has given them an intimate practical acquaintance with the best results of modern civilization. They are of mature years, sound judgment and strict morals. They are deeply interested in all social and economic questions, but they cannot aid in making the laws of their country. They happened to be born girls instead of boys. They must "keep their places," "remain in their proper spheres," fixed by men, and submit to the laws which the most ignorant males in their country help to make.

Sex is clearly not a true basis for suffrage, either logically or practically.

BANNER NATIONS AND STATES

In which woman enjoys equal suffrage with man. Names may be added as victories are won.

Wyoming	1869	New Zealand.....	1893
Colorado.....	1893	South Australia.....	1894

EQUAL SUFFRAGE CATECHISM.

The following catechism was issued by the Equal Suffrage Association of New York State. It is based on questions prepared by Lucy Stone:

Q. Under a representative form of government, such as ours, who should make the laws? A. The people.

Q. Do the people make the laws? A. No. Half the people are relieved (?) from making the laws.

Q. Who make the laws? A. Men.

Q. Who gave them the right to make the laws? A. Men.

Q. Do not the laws concern women? A. They certainly do.

Q. May not women take part in making the laws which they must obey? A. They may not. Men alone make the laws for women and men.

Q. If a woman transgress the law, who decide the penalty, try, convict and punish her? A. Men.

Q. Who sit on the juries before whom men and women are tried? A. Men only.

Q. Is this what the constitution means by "The judgment of his (or her) peers"? A. Manifestly not.

Q. May not mother's help make the laws that decide their legal relations to their children? A. No; men make the laws, and in only six states of the Union has the married mother the legal right to her children.

Q. Why is the law so one-sided? A. Because one sex alone has been making the laws.

Q. Who make the laws that decide the rights of husband and wife in case of separation? A. Men only.

Q. When a husband brutally assaults his wife, who make and enforce the laws that punish him? A. Men.

Q. Who make the laws concerning the property rights of husband and wife? A. Men.

Q. Who pay taxes? A. Men and women.

Q. Is the property of women taxed the same as that of men?

A. Higher as a rule.

Q. Who make the laws governing taxation? A. Men.

Q. Who may say how tax moneys collected from men and women shall be used ? A. Men only.

Q. May not a capable woman who runs her own farm or other business have a vote in elections that concern her interests as much as those of any man ? A. No ; but the most incapable man in her employ may.

Q. May not a woman of education, who understands the questions of the day, vote ? A. No ; but the most ignorant of men may.

Q. May not women who teach the boys in our schools vote ? A. No ; but the boys they instruct, when 21, may vote.

Q. May the mothers who have given sons to the State and nurtured them in the fear of God and love of country—may they not vote ? A. No.

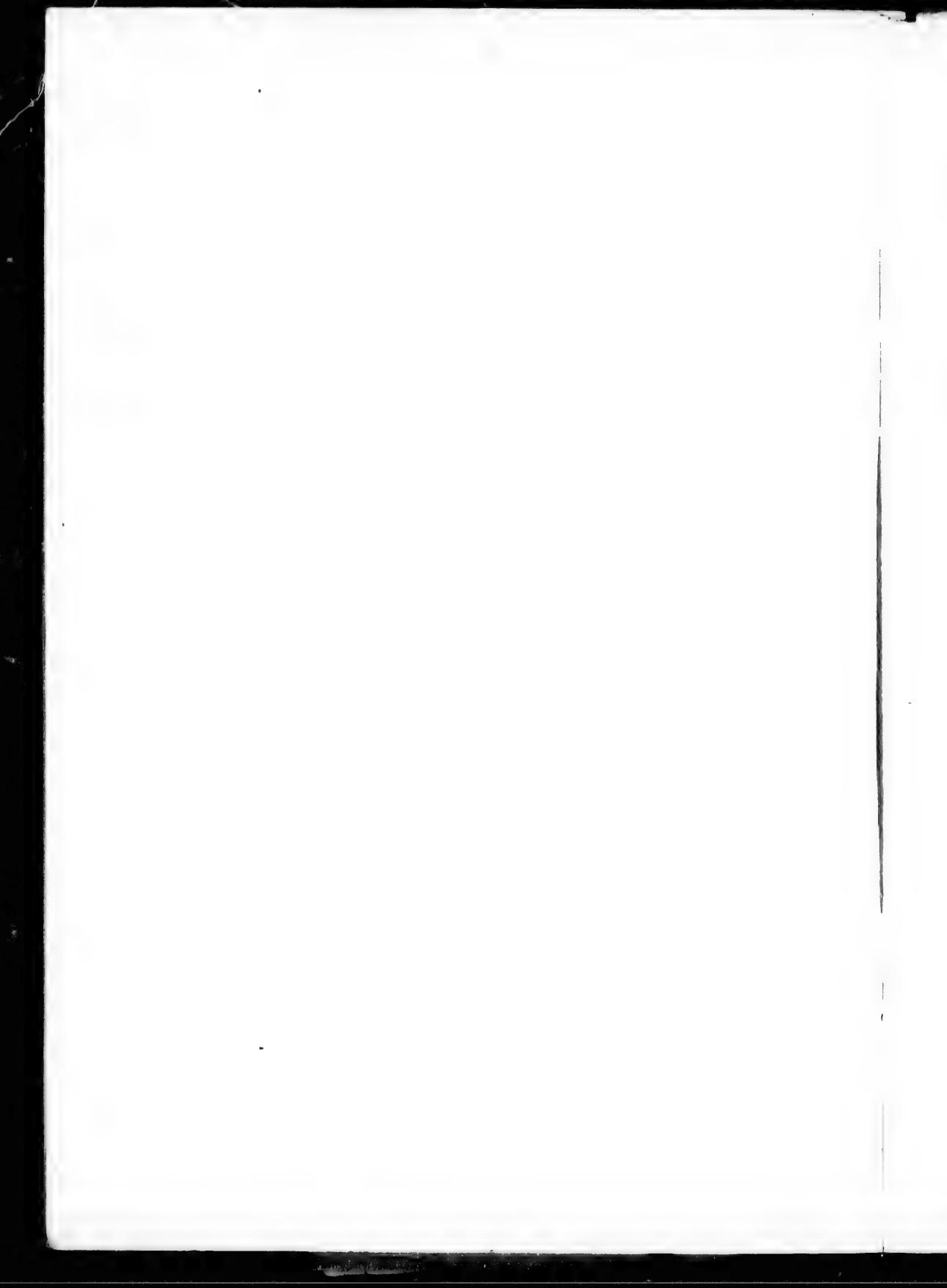
Q. Why not ? A. Because they are women.

Q. Why does a conscientious woman want to vote ? A. So she may help to enact laws that will better the conditions of society.

Q. Would women vote if the privilege were granted them ?

A. In Wyoming, a greater percentage of women vote than men and that, too, when it is often necessary to walk or drive many miles to polling places.

Q. Who may vote ? A. All men, white or black, native or foreign, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, drunk or sober, may vote.



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